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292 The head-dresses (*di*) and ornaments (*hambo*) are themselves artistic
531 creations. A full feather head-dress is composed of some two dozen strands of feathers, each strand consisting of a dozen or more feathers. The strands are carefully made, sometimes from artistically shaped and trimmed feathers, while short down of striking colours may be tied to the tips of feathers. The order and arrangement of the strands making up the headdress is to some extent determined by custom but mainly by the artistic sense of the decorator, who
301 may spend days working out the precise effect he wants. Similarly the *hambo*
531 are often composed of a variety of objects – dog's teeth, shells, pieces of crocodile skin, a special kind of banana seed, for instance. The decorator aims at a pleasing design but is always aware of the effect of the total object as body
[778] decoration in relation to the skin, face and body of the wearer. While the objects themselves undoubtedly have magical significance, and much might be discovered about the symbolism of *di* and *hambo*, my informants were far more interested in talking to me about the aesthetics rather than the occult significance of these decorations. I surmise that the magical efficacy is actually thought to inhere in the beauty of these objects rather than in the specific qualities of component parts. Women are as lavishly decorated as men. Though some *hambo* are reserved for males only and others are characteristically female, decorations are usually interchangeable between the sexes.

796 *Music, Dance and Song.* Today the great occasions when body decoration is
533 performed mainly coincide with Christian festivals – Christmas, Easter, and name days of saints. But these dates tend to be close to the festive periods in the
535 traditional Orokaiva calendar. For instance, Easter occurs around the beginning of the traditional feasting season, while Christmas is close to the rituals performed to stimulate the filling out of the taro tubers planted in the period before the rains. It is on these great occasions that the major dance cycles are performed, accompanied by entirely traditional songs and drum music. But 'practising' for these performances proceeds for months before and after Christmas, and again between Easter and the end of June. In Lent, all this is strictly prohibited, for reasons that again go back to taro magic. At any time of the year but this, one hears almost every able-bodied male in the village, from the age of two upwards, practising the dance, with or without the accompaniment of songs, while every village has its original poets who compose new songs every year. Dance 'practices' occur rather frequently, about four times a week in the two months or so before a performance. They tend to start in the early evening and continue until after midnight. Some of the dancers wear a few decorations when practising. But these 'practices' occur only if a large group can be mustered.

535 The Orokaiva mostly dance in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. The pairs always consist of persons of the same sex, men or women, who form more or less permanent partnerships. The dances themselves are described in some detail by Williams (1930: Ch. XIV), whose useful account would be even more valuable if he had not attempted to make up some kind of synthesis of the dance and drama of three somewhat different tribes (Orokaiva, Aiga, Binandere).

In Sivepe there were two dance leaders, one from each of the major clans, who danced as partners. They had the final say about the programme; their body

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movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams, Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are 'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job. Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure*. Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

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When a summons was issued by the village constable, then those magic things were put to work (to save the accused from conviction)...
In those days men worked for a while but then stopped shifting the earth. The village constable bound them and they went to court in Kokoda. If the court thought they were lying or if they said 'I don't know,' they were taken away and the governor stopped their work. This is the tale of those men of olden days.

Although the passages quoted here are full of obscurities, the situation in which these speeches were delivered makes them worthy of careful analysis. The councillor, who was born in Torogota, had recently moved to Kongohambo, a neighbouring village built in modern style. Some families had accompanied him, but he wanted Torogota village to be abandoned altogether and the whole population transferred to Kongohambo. In his first speech, he gave reasons with which he hoped to persuade his people. We are thus given a glimpse of the social philosophy of his listeners. Although the latter had no intention of leaving Torogota, they did share the basic sentiments to which the councillor appealed. They agreed communal ownership of land was no longer quite fashionable, the village was getting too old, too much land was lying idle, it was bad for labourers to be unreliable, it was bad to kill wayfarers like dogs. They desired to emulate the feats of their ancestors and they knew this could no longer be done by raiding neighbouring villages. This traditional road to renown is no longer open; obviously, new roads have to be found.

The main burden of the councillor's speech was that his people had not found these new roads to power: *ivo ambupu-ta ahihijera*. (Strong ancestors have reared feeble descendants.) *Ivo* (strength, power) is a basic concept in Orokaiva thought, and is somewhat similar to the Polynesian concept *mana*. It is the quality that enables man to be successful in 'ways with which ordinary technique cannot cope' (Firth 1967: 191). It is transmitted to a man by his father at the time of conception, and is augmented by the fact of success, and particularly by the killing of an animal or an enemy, the eating of meat, or the making of gifts. Bohuka, the ancestor of the councillor's lineage, and his companions, undoubtedly had *ivo* which was augmented by their conquests, but his descendants who inherited this *ivo* stood to lose it unless they themselves achieved something of commensurate importance. The Orokaiva, unlike the Tikopia, do not think of this magical efficacy as being essentially an attribute of chiefs or leaders, though men of influence do have *ivo* to an exceptional degree. In the terms of the theory developed in the present work, *ivo* is always an object of exchange, received from an exchange partner, often in the form of meat, as will be shown in Chapter VII. The ultimate source of *ivo*, however, are *dema* figures such as Totoima and Pekuma who first gave *ivo* to man.

The councillor's second speech is one of several pieces of evidence that lead me to suggest that the Orokaiva regard Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure and a powerful source of *ivo*. A Papuan pastor was the first to put this idea to me when we discussed an Orokaiva dance performed at his Church during the Christmas service. The dancers, dressed in traditional garb and beating drums, filing in a wide circle past the cross erected on the mission station, sang a traditional chant originally performed after a victim had been killed in a cannibal raid. The pastor drew my attention to the similarity between the killing of such

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539 776 177 a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant, the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the same.

●[535] Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *ivo* he bequeathed upon mankind.

182 771 776 177 It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon. The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had [623] [115] been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village. But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover, that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

177 773 [731] One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption, their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

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incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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tribes (twelve items), including in his list many *hambo* still in common use. 301
Williams (1930) criticised this account on two grounds: some kinds of *otohu* 881
were regularly conferred upon boys and girls at initiation before they had killed anyone, and most of the items listed by Beaver were in fact conferred on such occasions. While Williams did not rule out the use of homicidal emblems, he thought they should be called *esa* rather than *otohu* and provided a short list of such *esa*, i.e. ornaments given exclusively to man-slayers or to men who had slain a wild pig and presented it to the donor of the *esa*.

Williams reserves the term *otohu* for ritual objects used as symbols for ethical notions central to the Orokaiva world view. He thinks that the *otohu* is best understood in the context of boys' and girls' initiation, as conferment most often occurs at the conclusion of initiation ceremonies. In this chapter I shall first summarise Williams' description of the transfer of *otohu* in initiation, and proceed to add some new information which may lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of the *otohu*.

3. *Williams' Account of the Conferment of Otohu*

Orokaiva initiation ceremonies include four main rituals which are, as Williams 881
reports, not always performed in the same order, but the one ceremony he witnessed occurred in the same order as those described to me by informants:

(1) First, initiands are kept in seclusion for some months. Living in a separate house in semi-darkness, they are well-fed, kept warm with a fire, but must not wash. Williams rightly discounts Chinnery and Beaver's account (1915) that initiands are given detailed instruction of a moral nature at this stage. This was denied by my own informants who had themselves been initiated.

(2) A nocturnal dance occurs during which spirits (*embahi*) appear from the bush, assail and frighten the initiands, but are driven off by the initiands' relatives. Chinnery and Beaver (1915) plausibly suggest that this ferocious scene serves the function of instilling 'absolute and lasting terror in the candidates', of obligating them to their relatives who saved them, and of inducing in them 'a receptive and chastened frame of mind' for the instruction that is to follow. The scene is graphically described by Williams.

(3) The next morning initiands are, for the first time in their lives, dressed [535]
up in full dancing regalia, after which they make an impressive début at the village dancing ground. The ritual is known as *kogumbari*. It is performed by an [292]
expert whose main concern seems to be with the aesthetics of dressing up, and [301]
who lends the initiands feathers and ornaments from his own large store. He stands in no particular kin relationship to the initiand and may even be from a different village. (Fathers are excluded.)

(4) If there is a presentation of *otohu* to initiates[2] this is not part of the [431]
initiation ritual as such, which occurs immediately after *kogumbari*. The dressed [301]
up initiates are 'shown to the people' and take part in a dance called *kuru*, which is described by Williams (1930: 188). The presentation follows this dance.

It begins with a series of speeches by old warriors (*aguma*) who recite their 881
feats of war, their killing of victims. Initiates sit on a row of sticks laid on the 301
ground ('lest through contact with the ground they run the risk of physical deformity'). The donor of the *otohu* (most often the father or mother's brother) [729]

Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obligations include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual transactions with non-residents.

Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('pondo' or feasts) as marking initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas, Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially exchanges and in themselves take little time; others include much ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled. Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the location of the party rather than of membership of a particular descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected. Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the dancing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and cutlery by other villagers.

In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

> Between friends who visit one another or who meet on a path, this may amount to little more than proferring an areca nut or piece of tobacco, much as we might offer a cigarette, but with a more definite expectation that it will be done. If the purpose of the visit is a little more serious, or if it is to be extended, the gift may be of food, and certainly a host will offer meals....

He further stresses that such small transactions may be as central to the economy as the more complex ceremonialised institutions involving reciprocal exchange. Simply because such transactions and associated activities are of a moral rather than a mechanical nature and incorporate notions of social status, they cannot properly be distinguished from strictly 'productive' enterprise.

In Sivepe time devoted to fulfilling social obligations is divided almost equally between the three categories of death (mourning), 1.1 hours, other ceremonial (feasting, farewell parties, etc.), 1.0 hours, and informal visiting, 1.2 hours per man-week.

While the pattern of visiting varies little from week to week, the more formal activities only occur irregularly. Only one death, that of a child, was recorded within the sample during the survey, but various people were involved in the deaths of four kinsmen resident elsewhere.

The duration of mourning seems to vary in relation to the physical and social distances separating the mourned from the mourners as well as according to the status of the deceased. In the case of the child's death, 90 per cent (all but four members) of the sample participated, together with a large number of clansmen from other villages and most of the third clan represented in Sivepe. The sample members mourned continuously for an average of 11 hours each, this being terminated by a church service on the mission station. In fact, all the mourning during period I fell in four weeks, an average of 5.5 hours per man-week being recorded for these weeks.

The time devoted to other ceremonial activities can be subdivided into four categories, the relative importance of which reflects the nature of social change among the inland Orokaiva. 'Parties' account for 38 per cent of the time so spent. These are normally held at the departure or return of kinsmen in paid employment or to mark 'birthdays' and are invariably characterised by the sale of plates of food and liquor and by western-style dancing to guitar groups.[1] Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional

[1] The term 'party' is in current usage in Orokaiva and other New Guinea languages. For a detailed description of one such event, see Crocombe 1966.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional
dancing at events inspired by the external agencies, in particular church festivals and public holidays; 18 per cent is devoted to what might be called 'institutionalised parties', for example, the celebration of a church wedding or the opening of a women's club, again events associated with the contact situation; and a mere 14 per cent is devoted to feasting of a traditional nature, such a practice now apparently being relegated to a minor place in Orokaiva society.

All ceremonial events tend to be concentrated around Christmas when the gardens are in full production, and involving at that time as much as 6.2 hours per man-week in a single week (week 1).

(b) The external sector

All commercial production, together with those activities directly associated with the presence of the external agencies (for example, church services, formal meetings, etc.), fall within the external sector of the economy. Together they account for 10.6 hours per man-week, of which only 3.2 hours (spent in cash cropping and paid work) are concerned directly with the acquisition of cash.[1]

(i) Cash cropping. Most of the time spent in cash cropping is devoted to coffee production - 1.3 hours per man-week - although only five households are directly involved in it. The buying season is determined by the OCCS to coincide with the flush and extends from March to October. There is no off-season buying and coffee-producing activities are confined to this period, particularly the months of April through to July. Clearing of the gardens and any pruning are restricted to the start of the season to facilitate access to the trees. Most harvesting and processing is done early in the season, falling off gradually as stocks are accumulated, the main flush passes and the opportunity to sell is awaited.[2] While 1.9 hours per man-week were expended on coffee production for the whole of period I, virtually all activity was confined to the last six weeks when 4.2 hours were expended (2.0 hours on harvesting and the balance on processing). During period II only 0.5 hours were devoted to production, with a further 0.5 hours to marketing per man-week.

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[1] However, a further 0.3 hours per man-week are spent in marketing subsistence crops and products. See p.88.

[2] This reduction in the level of activity might equally be related to the initial sale of coffee, disappointment at the price obtained resulting in a marked loss of enthusiasm. Further, during period II, the labour requirements of the subsistence sector increase as do the demands made by the external agencies, and these factors may also influence the level of coffee production.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

and two walked over the Owen Stanleys to Port Moresby in search of work. Two of the remaining three are still at school at Sasembata, leaving only Rodney Gill at home. The fact that he has not already left probably reflects some latent sense of obligation towards his parents. 512 461

After completing standard 4 at Sasembata, Rodney Gill went to stay with his married sister near Port Moresby for several months but he has never been employed outside the village. Nevertheless, he is frequently away for several weeks at a time, particularly at Sangara. Even during the survey period he was absent on 17.9 per cent of potential survey days, or 34 days in all. During 32 of these he was on an unbroken visit to Sangara assisting a settler construct a house, for which he received $6 and his keep.

Two months after returning to Sivepe he obtained work at Sasembata mission station, helping to erect new class-rooms for a salary of 80c per month. Disillusioned by the small wage he left after three months; nevertheless this work was the most important category in his total activity pattern. Since his parents have no cash crops and Rodney Gill has made no attempt to establish his own, the little cash cropping he does, 0.4 hours per week, is confined to assisting his brother Cecil King with his coffee. [464] [465]

Rodney Gill spends only 32 per cent of his time on productive subsistence tasks, compared with the sample mean of 65 per cent, and his contribution to subsistence gardening is particularly slight. Like other youths, he prefers to spend his time hunting and fishing, and for him other subsistence food production is the main subsistence activity. During the survey Rodney Gill rebuilt, almost single-handed, the single men's house in which he sleeps and also gave Cecil considerable assistance in rebuilding his house. [883]

In general the productive tasks available in the village which appeal most to young men are those which occur irregularly or which can be done on impulse, have an important recreational aspect and have associated with them obvious shows of skill or strength. Their most popular leisure pursuits are parties and dancing to guitars. Rodney Gill spends more time fulfilling social obligations than any of the other individuals considered - 6.9 hours a week - yet 75 per cent of this was attending parties. Although most youths seldom have much money to spend on food and alcohol at these gatherings, the guitar music, singing and dancing pursued unrelentingly through the night appeal to them. Modelled as they are on expatriate festivities, and given an element of inter-village rivalry with 517 [461] [533] [535] [177] [578]

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it was a European institution. 504 292 177

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and the notice about donations was written in that language. While the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves. 504 191 198

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to English words and a few to Orokaiva words. 504 534 504 533

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New Guinea, and in films. 504 535 [177]

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the others remained in the shadows. 504 562

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m. [533] [535]

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595

Men dancing at the feast

504 when three young single women joined in, though each danced sepa-
562 rately and without appearing to take any notice of the men or to
595 be noticed by them. Only three mixed couples were seen dancing during the whole evening, the partners in each case being real or classificatory siblings. They danced ballroom style, which the girls had seen when away at work as nurses and domestics. On some occasions two men danced together, but for the most part each man danced individually, following his own style and apparently oblivious to those around him. Traditionally, married women do not dance, though single women dance in supporting roles.

504 It was clear that while music and dancing were based largely on
177 a very limited conception of Polynesian patterns, dress and other behaviour was based on European models - even to the extent of several of the most prominent citizens handing out Rothman's king size filter cigarettes! Though traditional prohibitions (such as those against married women dancing) prevailed, there seemed to be a conscious effort not to behave as an Orokaiva, and some of the local people who did not participate explained that it was because they did not know how to dance in the modern style. Over all the men engaged in nontraditional activity much more than the women did.

504 Shortly after daybreak a church service was held, breakfast was served, and the party was over. The remains of the food was distributed to those relatives who had contributed most food and

797 permanent gifts of land: the populous mission village, if granted a
177 permanent landed foothold, might well become excessively powerful and even oppressive. As long as the missionaries had only temporary tenure, their dependence on the villagers would always remain manifest.

No Orokaiva begrudged the mission teachers their special and high status derived from their office as teachers and preachers. While their duties were mostly with the school, they all gave occasional religious lessons in the villages. One teacher made such a visit to Sivepe nominally once a month, and always after there had been a serious village fight, thus helping the reconciliation of the combatants. There was an even more marked respect for the priest, deacon and AMO. This respect was expressed, for instance, when the village trade store at Sasembata villages, which usually operated on a fairly strict cash basis, was willing to give credit to mission teachers. (Regrettably, some proved slow payers.) There was also a convention whereby fights were promptly stopped when a mission teacher appeared and asked the combatants to stop. (The same taboo exists against fighting in the presence of cross-cousins of the category known as simbo.)

[535] The coastal immigrants, however, aspired in addition to a general cultural ascendance. As one example of this, they liked to introduce among the Orokaiva their coastal dances and songs. The Orokaiva were avid pupils (as their culture history suggests they have been long before the days of Christianity). At the big dance held at the mission station in June, 1967, at least two entirely new dances, both of coastal origin, were introduced, one by the women of Sivepe and Kongohambo, and one by men and women from Waseta. In both cases, the teachers were missionaries from the coast. In both cases, the dance had never previously been seen in Orokaiva territory.

A significant source of power for the mission settlement was its indispensable role in the containment of quarrels not only within but also between villages. Sports matches tended to lead to fights, but they tended to be far more peaceful if they were held on the mission station. This was a place where people had to repress their anger. During my stay at Sivepe, several attempts were made to play matches in the village, but after two serious fights, people agreed with the priest's suggestion to play on the station in future.

Section 2: A Case History: Women's Organisations and the Mission

575 The following brief description of women's organisations in the Sasembata area, and especially Sivepe, will illustrate the general propositions concerning mission-village relationships set out in the previous section. There are no traditional women's organisations among
[593] the Orokaiva, though the women do certainly at times act as a solidary
[626] group in village affairs, especially when a husband is seen maltreating his wife. The other women will then club together with the wronged

yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence. I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher; later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. How in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
●[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe
[197] is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[871] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in
[167] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase
[191] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[199] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practises,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepa, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
[361] there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepa, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepa,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepa. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (viz Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
782 always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
178 Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepa for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepa knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepa people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

572 602 608 [824] The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 [437] (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 574 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* relations. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

● [535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intra-group morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.